

Message Text

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16

ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 RSR-01 /126 W

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R 132219Z JUL 73

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8750

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 2565

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, UR

SUBJ: PEACEKEEPING

REF: STATE 103164

1. IN MEETING WITH AMB. SCHAUFLE JULY 3 ON PEACEKEEPING
OVINNIKOV, WITHOUT EXPRESSLY REFERRING TO IT, IN EFFECT
REVERTED TO MOSCOW INSTRUCTION TO SMUN WHICH WAS INITIAL
UNSATISFACTORY REPLY TO US WORKING PAPER OF JUNE 4, 1970
AND TRANSMITTED IN USUN 1879 SEPT. 11, 1970.

2. IN MODIFICATION OF PARA 2 OF USUN 1879 HE ASKED FOR
US VIEWS ON FORMULATION BY WHICH KEY SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS
AT TIME OF LAUNCH, E.G. COMPOSITION AND DESIGNATION OF
COMMANDERS, WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY FOUR-POWER (PERMANENT
SC MEMBERS) SUBCOMMITTEE OPERATING ON BASIS OF CONSENSUS.

3. ALSO SOUGHT FURTHER US CLARIFICATION OF FOLLOWING
STATEMENTS IN US PAPER OF JUNE 4, 1970:

A) THE COUNCIL MAY ALSO ESTABLISH, IN ACCORDANCE
WITH ART. 29 OF THE CHARTER, A SPECIAL SUBSIDIARY ORGAN
(COMMITTEE OR SUBCOMMITTEE) DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO IT
FOR ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE.

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B) THE AIM OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE WILL BE THE CONVERGENCE

OF VIEWS; THERE WILL BE NO VOTING.

4. IN LIGHT OF FIRST QUERY AMB. SCHAUFLE ASKED WHETHER SOVIETS MAKING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRE- AND POST-LAUNCH PHASES OF OPERATION. OVINNIKOV SAID THAT SUBCOMMITTEE WOULD OF COURSE OPERATE IN POST-LAUNCH PHASE BUT QUESTION WAS DIRECTED AT PRE-LAUNCH.

5. SCHAUFLE ALSO NOTED THAT ANY DECISIONS OF SUBCOMMITTEE WOULD HAVE TO BE, IN EFFECT, RATIFIED BY ART. 29 COMMITTEE. OVINNIKOV AGREED BUT SAID IF THERE NO OBJECTION VOICED BY MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE THERE NO NEED FOR IT TO GET INVOLVED. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY ABOUT PRC OVINNIKOV SAID IT WOULD HAVE TO BECOME MEMBER BUT HE NOT AWARE OF BASIC CHINESE OPPOSITION TO PEACEKEEPING.

6. IN DISCUSSION IT OBVIOUS THAT OVINNIKOV FORESEES ACTIVE SUBCOMMITTEE ROLE IN PRE-LAUNCH PHASE WITH CONSULTATIONS OCCURRING EVEN DURING COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS AND ORGANIZATION OF ART. 29 COMMITTEE. OVINNIKOV ADDED HE DID NOT ANTICIPATE SC WOULD PROVIDE DETAILED GUIDELINES. DETAILED RESOLUTION "WOULD TIE HANDS OF COMMANDERS".

7. AT END OF CONVERSATION OVINNIKOV POINTED OUT THAT HE DEPARTING ON HOME LEAVE END OF JULY AND WOULD LIKE US RESPONSE BEFORE THEN, IMPLYING THAT HE WOULD THEN CONSULT IN MOSCOW ON NEXT SOVIET MOVE. SOVIETS, INCIDENTALLY, PREFER NO WG MEETINGS DURING AUGUST WHICH MAY BE LINKED TO OVINNIKOV'S ABSENCE OR HIS CONSULTATIONS IN MOSCOW OR BOTH.

8. COMMENT: SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE STARTING FROM WHERE WE LEFT OFF IN BILATERALS IN FALL OF 1970 AND THEY CONTINUE EMPHASIZE PREDOMINANCE OF PERMANENT SC MEMBERS. WE FIND THIS APPROACH VERY CHARACTERISTIC OF SOVIET TACTICS REGARDLESS OF THEIR FINAL INTENTIONS. NEVERTHELESS THERE ARE HINTS THAT THEY MIGHT BE MORE FORTHCOMING THAN IN THE PAST. FOR INSTANCE, THEY HAVE ACCEPTED IN PEACEKEEPING WORKING GROUP "ULTIMATE DIRECTION AND CONTROL OF SC" ALTHOUGH THEY HAD ALWAYS INSISTED ON "SUPREME" IN PAST. THEY ARE NOW
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MAKING SOME DISTINCTION BETWEEN PRE-LAUNCH AND POST-LAUNCH PERIODS.

9. PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT IN ASSESSING SOVIET INTENTIONS IS FACT THAT IT IS THEY WHO HAVE SOUGHT RESUMPTION OF BILATERALS AND APPEAR TO BE ANXIOUS TO MAKE PROGRESS ON PEACEKEEPING. IN PART THIS INTEREST AIMED AT COMMITTING OR OUTFLANKING PRC, BUT IT ALSO PROBABLY REFLECTS SOVIET CONCERN THAT PRESSURE FROM NON-PERMS MAY RESULT IN MOVEMENT TOWARD GUIDELINES WHICH SOVIETS MIGHT NOT LIKE.

10. WE SUGGEST DEPARTMENT MAY WISH CONSIDER FOLLOWING
GENERAL LINE OF REPLY TO OVINNIKOV:

A) REITERATE SOME OF OUR CONCERNS CONTAINED IN
STATE 153425 OF SEPT. 18, 1970 ACKNOWLEDGING,
HOWEVER, THAT WE HAD RECEIVED SOVIET PAPER CONTAINED
USUN A-1098 OF JULY 22, 1971.

B) REGARDING SOVIET QUERY (PARA 2) WE WOULD EXPECT
CONTINUOUS CONSULTATION OF SUB-COMMITTEE MEMBERS IN PRE-
LAUNCH PHASE BUT STILL BELIEVE SPECIFIC MATTERS MENTIONED
ARE BEST LEFT TO SYG TO WORK OUT, ALWAYS MAINTAINING CONTACT
WITH PERMANENT AND OTHER MEMBERS WHOSE VIEWS AND OBJECTIONS,
IF ANY, WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

C) REGARDING PARA 3(A) THE SENTENCE SEEMS TO US TO BE
PERFECTLY CLEAR. ANY SUBSIDIARY ORGAN ESTABLISHED UNDER
ART. 29 IS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE TO SC. IF DIFFERENCES AMONG
MEMBERS WERE OF SUCH A SERIOUS NATURE, SC COULD BE SEIZED OF
MATTER.

D) SIMILARLY "CONVERGENCE OF VIEWS" (PARA 3(B))
INSURES THAT THERE IS NOT VETO AND THAT MEMBERS WOULD STRIVE
TO FIND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE POSITION. THE US, LIKE THE
SOVIET UNION, MIGHT FIND ITSELF IN POSITION IN WHICH IT DID
NOT WANT TO ENDORSE A DECISION BUT AT SAME TIME ALSO WOULD
NOT OBJECT. AGAIN REFERRED TO SC REMAINS POSSIBLE.

11. WE WOULD THEN PROPOSE RESTATE PARA 1 REFTEL AND SEE
IF SOVIETS REALLY WILLING TO SIT DOWN AND DISCUSS THESE
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CONCRETE ITEMS RATHER THAN GET CAUGHT UP IN PHILOSOPHICAL
DISCUSSION OF WORD MEANINGS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 JUL 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973USUNN02565
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS BENNETT
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730734/aaaaaymo.tel
Line Count: 154
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 73 STATE 103164
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26-Sep-2001 by martinml>; APPROVED <07-Dec-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PEACEKEEPING
TAGS: PFOR, UR, UN
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005